ASIA'S REVOLUTION BY ANEURIN BEVAN

THE Nation

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Grab for Atomic Power

by Leland Olds

Franco's Best Bet — *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Victory in Atlanta — *L. D. Reddick*

The Ethics of John D. — *Keith Hutchison*

A Review of Allan Nevins's "Study in Power"

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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Around the U.S.A.

Victory in Atlanta

Atlanta, Georgia

FOR the first time since Reconstruction days Negroes have been elected to public office in Atlanta, Georgia. On May 13 Rufus E. Clement was elected to the Board of Education, and A. T. Walden and Miles G. Amos won places on the city Executive Committee. In a state where Herman Talmadge is Governor this is a remarkable accomplishment.

Atlanta is booming—everybody has a job—and becoming comparatively urbane and sophisticated. The local Klan has not been heard from in years. In such an environment a Southern kind of liberalism flourishes. Its adherents range from professors and students at the schools and colleges that do not depend upon state funds to the "progressive" jazz and entertainment crowd that winks at Jim Crow laws. In between are the religious groups and interracial organizations.

As in most Southern cities the newspapers mold public opinion with respect to race relations. Atlanta has no race-baiting sheet. The two big dailies are liberal in the sense that they are quiet and polite about their pro-white views. In the recent political campaign they did not support any of the Negro candidates, but afterward they praised those who had won and congratulated the city and the South in general for being so fine-spirited.

Atlanta's Negro community is unusually articulate and active. Negro-owned and operated businesses are more numerous and substantial than in most places; among them are a member bank of the Federal Reserve System, a million-dollar savings and loan association, and a multi-million-dollar insurance company. Home ownership is high. The Negro Business League and the Negro Voters League are effective instruments for community progress.

Last fall the Talmadge machine tried to force through a so-called county-unit amendment to the state constitution. The maneuver was a power grab pure and simple camouflaged as another effort to "save the whites from the blacks." It was defeated at the polls, and Talmadge was denounced by some thirty white organizations, religious and civil, for injecting the white-supremacy issue into the campaign. This was a turning point in local history. All the candidates in the elections of a fortnight ago were asked by the leaders of these same organizations to refrain from raising the race issue, and all complied.

With the help of the United States Supreme Court, Atlanta Negroes have so well established their right to vote that four years ago white candidates for city office learned to pronounce the word "Negro" correctly and to address Negroes as "Mr." or "Mrs." and presented themselves at Negro mass-meetings as believers in democracy and equal rights. If this does not spell complete political democracy, it at least spells progress.

NEGROES, however, still have to fight for their rights every step of the way. For example, when the city Executive Committee learned that some Negroes from the predominantly Negro third ward planned to run for positions on it, it promptly declared that no new members would be elected at this time. The Negro candidates then obtained a court order requiring the Executive Committee to hold the election. Still determined to bar Negroes from membership, the committee announced that an election would be held but on new ward lines; that is, the wards of heavy Negro concentration would be "diluted" by the addition of large blocks of white residents. As it turned out, however, the delays and controversies proved so confusing that one Negro candidate was not opposed by anyone and one was opposed only by another Negro.

When Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, filed for the Board of Education, the Executive Committee was not disturbed. Members of the board are elected by the whole city, and of Atlanta's 110,000 registered voters only 18,000 were Negroes. But Dr. Clement was determined to make a real race of it. His able staff of advisers mapped out a campaign that took him to all parts of the city and by way of radio and TV into almost every home. His opponent, J. H. Landers, was so certain that the white voters would never choose a Negro over a white man for any public office that he did not bother to campaign at all. The Executive Committee, however, with its ear closer to the ground, heard ominous rumblings as the candidates came down the home stretch. So two days before the election it called a special meeting to consider disqualifying Dr. Clement on the ground that he was a Communist or Communist-inspired. Dr. Clement learned of the committee's intentions through friends and went before it prepared to defend his record. After grilling him for hours, the committee by a five-to-four decision ruled that he could not properly be disqualified.

Both the *Constitution* and the *Journal* denounced the attempted smear as "dirty politics." The *Daily World,* the Negro paper, in a front-page editorial declared that "now we *must* elect Dr. Clement." He was in fact swept into office by 22,259 to 13,936 votes, topping his opponent in forty of the fifty-eight precincts. When Mr. Landers was asked why he had not put up more of a fight against Clement, all he said was, "I didn't think that they were ready for this." Apparently they were.

The election of A. T. Walden and Miles G. Amos to the city Executive Committee puts them on what is in reality the Democratic Party's Executive Committee of Atlanta. Through them Negro Democrats of Georgia expect to become integrated into the regular Democratic Party organization of the city and the state.

The influence of the Negro voter was felt all along the line—in the elections for the Board of Aldermen, for the other members of the Board of Education, and for the mayoralty. In most instances the candidates indorsed by the Negro Voters League won. Negro voters gave 88 per cent of their votes to Hartsfield, the successful candidate for mayor. This turned out to be a bit more than the margin of victory.

L. D. REDDICK

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EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Undermining the Public Schools

On July 13, 1948, the Board of Education voted to ban *The Nation* from the public high schools of New York. Our spokesmen insisted at the time that the issue was an incident in a struggle for control of the largest public-school system in the country, one with a larger enrolment than some forty-odd state systems.

Any doubts as to the correctness of these warnings must surely have been removed last week when the Board of Higher Education, top policy body for New York's municipal college system, elected Joseph B. Cavallaro as its new chairman. In his first interview Mr. Cavallaro had high praise for the McCarthy, Velde, and Jenner investigations, insisted that there should be "more religious emphasis" in the colleges.

A prominent Catholic layman appointed to the board in 1946 by Mayor William O'Dwyer, Mr. Cavallaro has four children enrolled in parochial schools, although he himself attended public schools—"regretfully" he adds. His elevation to the chairmanship by a vote of eleven to nine, gives Catholic pressure groups the same dominance of the Board of Education (the elementary and high schools), where Mr. George A. Timone, another Catholic appointee of Mayor O'Dwyer (1946), is the dominant power and chairman in fact if not in name. That individual Catholic leaders have loyally supported the New York public schools should not blind voters and taxpayers there, or elsewhere, to the consequences which ensue when a pressure group which has never bothered to conceal its dislike of public education acquires control of a school board.

Absent-Minded Friends

Primary responsibility for the New York situation, however, probably rests not with Catholic pressure groups but with the absent-minded friends of public education. Thus the New York *Times,* which noted with genuine "apprehension" Mr. Cavallaro's praise of Velde, Jenner, and McCarthy, blandly states that the "McCarthy type of investigation" has not yet been used in New York. But on March 26 the *Times* carried a full account of the testimony of Dr. William Jansen, superintendent of the New York schools, who had journeyed to Washington to praise the Congressional inquisitors and deliver to them in person a casualty list of recent "purges." In the December 27 issue of this magazine Broadus Mitchell pointed out that the McCarran committee's purge of the New York schools was essentially an "inside job" which had been instigated by elements anxious to acquire control of the schools.

The banning of *The Nation* was merely an incident in this struggle for control of New York's public schools—including its municipal colleges—which has culminated in a clear-cut victory for Catholic pressure groups and their City Hall allies.

We Can't Have Everything

For the harassed Republican leadership in Washington, the campaign chickens are beginning to come home to roost, and canny politicoes like Senator Taft and Speaker Martin are running for cover. General Eisenhower promised the undeliverable during the campaign, the time for a pay-off is coming, and nobody is happy.

The General simply promised too much: world peace, adequate defense, lower taxes, a lower cost of living, a balanced budget, and no reduction in the government's "social services." It can't all be done, and the bright program is now colliding with a few of the hard facts of life. The President handed the bad news to his Administration via the radio, and Senator Taft promptly entered Walter Reed hospital for a medical check-up, while Speaker Martin, taking a sidelong glance at the request for continuance of the excess-profits tax, announced, dead-pan, that the House Ways and Means Committee will proceed with it "in the regular way."

The "regular way" ought to be interesting. The committee chairman, Congressman Daniel A. Reed of New York, and most of the fifteen-man G.O.P. majority on the committee, had just recorded themselves as being solidly in favor of killing the excess-profits tax—which they can do by just doing nothing—when the President spoke. Rather plaintively, Mr. Reed remarked that he did not think the Republicans ought to extend oppressive taxes like this "when our party has pledged to reduce them," and most Republicans in Congress think he has a point. Actually, the President has no chance to get his tax program through unless the Democrats come to his rescue. The Democrats are well aware of this, and are

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taking a short breather to enjoy the pleasant spectacle of Republicans sweating under the unaccustomed burden of being obliged to act like a responsible political party.

Pro-Economy or Anti-F. D. R.?

The Republican leaders are caught in an odd fix. They believed their own propaganda, and they wholly forgot that the campaign to reduce taxes and spending was originally launched as a means to an end rather than as an end in itself.

Propaganda held that high spending and high taxes came because feckless Democrats, unused to handling large affairs, were being very wasteful; a business-like Administration would remedy all that. So now we have a business-like Administration, composed (almost excessively) of men skilled in handling very large affairs indeed, yet the millennium has not come; and the real trouble is the dawning realization that you can't go on doing all the things the previous Administration did without spending money—and collecting taxes. The Korean war costs money; so does national defense, and aid to our allies, and the farm program, and social security, and all of the other things which, as the Republican orators insisted, would be done much better by Republicans. Thus, as an example, a worried House of Representatives actually votes $12 million more money in the agricultural-appropriation bill than the Department of Agriculture asked for. (Republican Congressman Usher Burdick of North Dakota warned tartly that "you might just as well legislate yourselves out of this House" as to cut soil-conservation payments.)

The real trouble is very old. For two decades the demand for a balanced budget and lower taxes was actually an indirect way of attacking the social and economic reforms of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. If that point had ever been faced honestly, the Administration could be honest today; but it wasn't. So the President tries to still the waves which he himself helped to raise; and Defense Secretary Wilson tries manfully to persuade Senators that less money for defense somehow means more airplanes and fighting power; and diametrically opposed campaign pledges, none of which can possibly be disowned, meet head-on in a Congress which is already beginning to worry about the next national election.

The Return of William Oatis

William Oatis's return proved an anti-climax to the more rabid sections of our press. He denied that the Communists gave him drugs, except for illness; he admitted he had been in touch with our Embassy in Prague (all foreign correspondents are always in touch with their Embassies); he denied that he was brow-beaten, brain-washed, mesmerized, or in other ways tortured; worst of

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all, he admitted freely that he had been arrested in the first place because he broke the laws of Czechoslovakia. As things turned out, he would have served the cause—if not himself—better had he stayed in jail.

It is true that Oatis has been talking guardedly enough since his return to make it clear that he is not now telling all he knows. Why should he? He is an Associated Press man, and one of the canons of American journalism is that an AP man never tells a UP man anything if he can help it.

The Czech authorities may have acted stupidly and inhumanly in jailing Oatis, but they acted legally and not at all mysteriously. Even their censorship laws are not quite so esoteric as we would like to imagine. Any correspondent who has worked in the Middle East—or in some Latin American countries—knows how quickly he can get into trouble simply by asking a few embarrassing questions or filing a story critical of the regime.

As for our own country, a few years ago there occurred the Amerasia case, in which a group of writers was threatened with jail for doing precisely what Oatis did: passing around material which, though easily obtained, was regarded as "classified" by our government. It is a tribute to our judicial system—and perhaps a measure of the difference between it and the Czechs'—that in the end the Amerasia people were freed. But it is legitimate to wonder what would have happend in that case had it occurred today, in the atmosphere created by McCarthyism.

We can blame the Czechs for having jailed Oatis instead of doing the humane thing and deporting him. If we criticize—legitimately—their attitude towards a free press, we ought to have a little criticism left over for the direction in which we ourselves are moving. There are more ways of intimidating the press than by putting newsmen in jail, as Senator McCarthy is taking great pains to point out.

Remember F. E. P. C., Mr. President?

While Eisenhower was campaigning, he frowned upon any federal fair-employment-practices legislation but said he would encourage such laws at state level. That was also the line taken by the Republican platform writers. But if the President has been doing any encouraging in this direction, few have been listening—least of all his supporters. Of fourteen states, all pro-Eisenhower last November, in which proposals for new or stronger fair-employment legislation are under consideration, only Kansas has taken a progressive step, albeit an exceedingly small one. The Republican legislature in California, home of Vice-President Nixon and the pro-Eisenhower Senator Knowland, has done nothing. Neither has Pennsylvania, another key Eisenhower state with a Republican legislature and governor, despite a recent report by the Governor's Commission on Industrial Relations which showed employment discrimination in 75 to 90 per cent of the firms surveyed.

Certainly the President should have been able to do something in Michigan, which went all the way for Eisenhower "liberalism." The automobile industry contributed lavishly to his campaign, and key Michiganders —Wilson, Dodge, Summerfield—have risen to important national posts. Moreover, Michigan's Democratic governor, G. Mennen Williams, long an advocate of F. E. P. C., had offered to support any adequate fair-employment measure, whether sponsored by Republicans or Democrats. But recently the period for reporting bills out of Michigan's legislative committees quietly came to an end—and no F. E. C. P. bill was reported out.

How does the President plead to this indictment? That he no longer controls his state machines? Or that he is back-tracking on his campaign pledges?

Bonn, Bermuda, and Points East

THE cold war seems to have settled down into a contest of "initiatives." First Malenkov got the ball and kept it for a while, making considerable gains. Then Eisenhower captured it in his speech offering to discuss differences—when and if. Ike tossed it to Dulles, who fumbled it badly; whereupon Churchill saved it for our side by a bold bid for early, top-level East-West talks—without whens or ifs. But the teamwork was atrocious: no coordination among the Western contestants; Ike's boys, in particular, running all over the field. So Ike came up with a call for Western three-power talks to iron out differences. The ball is his again but anybody who knows the rudiments of diplomatic football realizes that Ike is trying to stall: to keep the initiative but not do anything with it—just fool around until the other side gets tired or makes a misplay. The chances are against such tactics working. British and French members of the team want to use the initiative to get a decision. That is Ike's dilemma. The Bermuda play gives him nothing more than a "time out."

The issues in the cold war cannot be stalled out of existence. Even in the unlikely event that the Russians obliged with a couple of the "deeds" the President asked for—a cease-fire in Korea, the peace treaty with Austria —the big issues loom just ahead, and on these the differences that separate us from our allies are only a little shallower than those between us and Moscow. The big issues are China and the rest of Asia; Germany and the rest of Europe.

For this country the Korean war began as a limited action to check aggression; it has become a campaign in an all-out struggle to end Communist power in Asia. If this is not its officially admitted purpose, the various state-

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ments made by President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles—not to mention the generals who have commanded the U. N. forces in Korea and the new head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff—add up to something very like it. The policy of the Administration in Korea and Formosa and Indo-China differs from that of the generals and the China Lobby in tempo rather than intent.

The only terms on which the Administration could now—or soon—reach a settlement in Asia are terms it has explicitly rejected. As a minimum it would have to agree to admit the Peking government to the U. N. in place of Chiang's Formosa regime as soon as an armistice is arranged, or at least as part of the political settlement to follow an armistice. But if the United States should agree to this, it could no longer apply money and military strategy to the weakening and ultimate overthrow of Mao's government: no more embargo, no blockade, no training and arming of Nationalist commando units. And if the Chinese Communists were admitted to the U. N. and took their seat in the Security Council, Chiang's regime would not merely lose its present insubstantial claim to be the legitimate government of China but would also lose all right to rule the island of Formosa. The United States, as party to the Cairo convention promising the restoration of Formosa to China, could continue to recognize Chiang's control there only in violation of its word and defend him only by using the unlawful means of armed intervention. These are some of the problems the Administration would like to dodge as long as it can.

BUT SINCE no political settlement in Asia will be possible unless Communist China is taken into the United Nations, it is certain that Mr. Churchill must intend to try to induce Mr. Eisenhower to pay that price. For a political settlement is obviously the aim of Churchill and the French, in Asia as in Europe.

On Europe the division between Washington and its chief allies is less clear-cut, deeper at some points, relatively slight at others. The economic tensions are sharper than the political ones. But in the end they overlap and become a single issue which was neatly summed up from Europe's point of view by Howard K. Smith last Sunday. Europeans, he said, recalling the pre-Eisenhower promise to "negotiate from strength," now fear that the United States is abandoning both ends of the formula. If the West is strong enough to bargain on equal terms—and Mr. Dulles has referred to Moscow's recent moves as a "peace *de*fensive" forced by the growing power of the West—then why does Washington shy off discussions? And if it is not strong enough, why is the Administration lopping five billion dollars from the defense budget and reducing foreign aid by more than two billion—while maintaining trade policies that will reduce still further the economic, and consequently the military, power of the West? The fact that these inconsistencies are partly the product of fierce disagreements inside the Republican ranks rather than of Administration planning does not reassure Europeans. They may have their own troubles with recalcitrant legislatures—as witness the current crisis in France—but if the Eisenhower government claims the right to direct, and largely dictate, Western policy, it cannot afford to put on a spectacle of paralysis in the face of pressure from within. As the conservative London *Spectator* remarked, "There is a poison at work in the United States" that must be eradicated or it will become dangerous—dangerous to other nations, that is. The power of the extremists is becoming decisive in foreign policy; and the grim fact will rise up to embarrass the President when he meets his European colleagues in Bermuda.

BUT THE CHIEF issue at the coming meeting will be the possibility of talking to the Russians about a European settlement—and this means talking about Germany. And the first step must be to find out whether the United States is willing to have an agreement on Germany on any available terms. At present this seems unlikely. What the United States would like is a unified Germany based on free elections but committed in advance to association with the Western bloc. And it wants a European army incorporating German divisions without regard to German unification or a negotiated settlement with Russia. The desire of most Europeans for a settlement with Russia that will eliminate the need of German integration with the West seems sheer romance to Washington—on that one point there is little or no difference of opinion among Republican factions or between the parties. But Europe's desire is bound to be expressed at Bermuda because Britain and France want to negotiate with Moscow on realistic terms, and they know that whatever concessions on Germany the Russians may be prepared to make they will make *in order to keep an armed Germany out of the Western alliance.* Churchill hinted at this in his speech when he suggested that a new "Locarno Pact" guaranteeing Western Russia and Germany from each other might one day be arranged.

What the Prime Minister wanted the President has successfully forestalled—an early exploratory meeting with the Russians without too many previous talks and too precise an agenda, a meeting that could feel out the ground and perhaps achieve some piecemeal agreements. But that sort of informal get-together could have been useful only if there had been initial unity among the Western allies. Since there is no unity, the Bermuda meeting makes sense. Russia naturally regards this as a hostile ganging-up against itself. Perhaps it should wait and see. Bermuda at least offers an opportunity for the advocates of negotiation to regain the initiative.

FREDA KIRCHWEY

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GRAB FOR THE ATOM

I. Big Business Moves In . . *by Leland Olds*

[*This is the first of a series of articles on one of the most challenging problems of our time, written by a man who is generally considered the country's foremost expert on public power. Leland Olds was a member of the Federal Power Commission for ten years during the Roosevelt administrations—nearly half that time as chairman. He has represented the United States at various international conferences dealing with public power and has long been associated with the power aspects of the St. Lawrence Seaway project. His second article will appear next week.*]

THIS is a year of decisions which will profoundly affect our participation in the atomic age. The drive to amend the Atomic Energy Act, which established the Atomic Energy Commission, has been in full swing for more than a year. Everything now appears set for its reconsideration by the Congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy.

The first steps were taken in the Truman Administration. In August, 1952, the Congressional Joint Committee advised the Atomic Energy Commission of its intention to hold hearings during the next session of Congress. Gordon Dean, chairman of the commission, replied that the question of industrial participation in the atomic-energy program was being studied and that the commission's policy report would be ready for Congress by the first of the year. The report is now ready, but committee hearings have been delayed. The indications are that the Eisenhower Administration will ask Congress to let private industry have a bigger share in atomic-energy development.

The Atomic Energy Act, which became law in 1946, makes the Atomic Energy Commission responsible for the direction of the entire atomic-energy program. The commission owns the plants and raw materials; in fact, the government has the exclusive right to own not only fissionable material, that is, all material from which energy can be released by splitting atoms, but nuclear reactors, or plants for producing fissionable materials or atomic weapons. The act forbids the granting of private patents in certain parts of the atomic-energy field.

As the law stands today, new discoveries in the field of atomic development become public property. In a sense, then, atomic energy, as a vastly important new resource, is part of the public domain, like the public lands or the water power of streams, which are constitutionally under the jurisdiction of Congress. It represents a public investment some 400 times as great as the Louisiana Purchase. The vital question before the people today is how this new resource, with its tremendous possibilities for our civilization, can best be developed and utilized.

When Congress acted in 1946 to give the government a monopoly in the field, security reasons unquestionably carried great weight. So we find that the act itself contemplates a time when its terms will be reconsidered. In fact, Congress specifically directed the Atomic Energy Commission to advise the President and Congress when nuclear-power development had reached such a stage that supplemental legislation was necessary or desirable.

IN DECEMBER, 1952, as a basis for the coming review, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy issued a document compiled by its staff containing some 400 pages of material culled from a wide range of addresses and reports. It includes no conclusions or recommendations, but material is summarized to suggest the current answers to such questions as: what is meant by atomic power? who is responsible for its development? why is there no atomic-power plant under construction today? who should own atomic-power plants and development facilities and why? how should atomic-power development be financed? what is the public interest in atomic-power development? what are its defense aspects? What is the effect of the patent situation on atomic-power development? what are the secrecy and safety problems? how might legislative changes affect atomic-power development? what is retarding it?

The Atomic Energy Commission is reported to be ready to recommend a revision of the law so as (1) to permit the licensing of American concerns to possess the quantities of uranium they would need to produce electric power; (2) to permit the licensing of such private firms to produce plutonium and other fissionable material as by-products in connection with their use of atomic energy to produce electric power; (3) to permit the government to make long-term contracts for the purchase of plutonium in order to assure private companies using uranium to make electric power a market for this by-product; and (4) to protect private patent rights of companies doing research and experimental work in developing electric power from the atom. The grave question that now arises is whether there is enough public understanding of the issues involved and of the significance of what is going forward to protect the public interest in this legislative proceeding. To test your own understanding of the matter, try to formulate answers to the questions suggested by the joint committee's publication. Or get a group of your friends together some evening and see if they can agree on answers.

The gravity of the situation was emphasized by Oscar M. Ruebhausen, chairman of the New York Bar Association's committee on atomic energy, in an address to a meeting of the National Industrial Conference Board on atomic energy in industry in October, 1952. "There is today no substantial body of informed public opinion," he warned, "that can be drawn upon to formulate an atomic program for the future. There are, it is true, scattered throughout the country, both in government and out of it, groups of able men qualified to pass on atomic problems but *never in the history of our democracy have we been compelled to rely on so few to debate*

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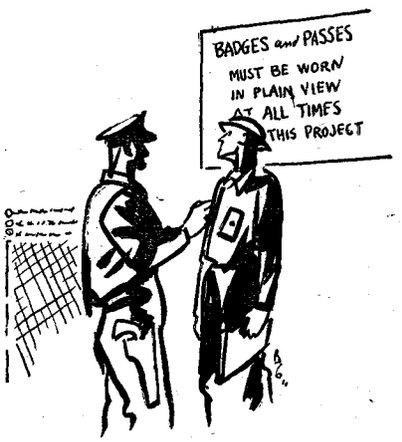
problems so vast. There is a critical need for informed public thinking on these questions" (italics mine).

The critical need for informed public thinking is accentuated by the fact that a small group of very well-informed men, representing the private-power utilities



and their industrial allies, knows exactly how it wants the Atomic Energy Act changed and is well organized to obtain these changes. Furthermore, it is mobilizing business behind its drive. One of the most articulate members of the group is Walker L. Cisler, president and general manager of the Detroit Edison Company, which together with the Dow Chemical Company has been working for some time under supervision of the Atomic Energy Commission on the generation of electricity with nuclear energy as fuel. Speaking at the American Management Association's recent conference, Mr. Cisler outlined his proposed amendments to the Atomic Energy Act. These would permit private enterprise (1) to build, own, and operate atomic-energy plants; (2) to use, sell, and distribute end-products, such as plutonium and radioactive isotopes, made in atomic-energy facilities; (3) to acquire, own, and dispose of source materials, such as uranium and thorium; (4) to obtain licenses from the Atomic Energy Commission, subject only to maintaining standards and conditions set up under the act; and (5) to obtain normal patent and trade-secret protection, subject only to full disclosure to the commission for its own use in protecting national security.

To get some idea of the significance of these proposals, we should look back six years to a day in July, 1947, when Mr. Cisler appeared in Washington before the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and asked virtual dismantlement of another important piece of federal legislation. At that time he wanted Congress to amend the Federal Power Act so that his company and a lot of other large power companies could engage in business across state lines without coming under Federal Power Commission regulation. He was, in effect, laying down the terms on which utilities were willing to give the people the advantages of modern power pooling, which he described as more economical use of power plants, greater reliability of service, and strengthening of the national security. The price the people must pay for these advantages was to grant the companies immunity from federal regulation.

So the amendments now proposed may be taken as the asking price of the private power industry for pushing work on the development of atomic power. If made the basis for changes in the law, they would have the effect of turning the atomic industry, lock, stock, and barrel, over to big business. Note particularly the narrow limitation proposed on the regulatory jurisdiction of the Atomic Energy Commission and the unlimited right to the monopoly privileges of patents.

DURING THE PAST YEAR, in increasing volume, the business chorus has been proclaiming this coming shift of atomic industry from government to private enterprise. A typical voice in the chorus is that of S. B. Roboff of Sylvania Electric Products. Addressing the National Industrial Conference Board's forum, Mr. Roboff forecast the day when so many privately owned reactors would be producing power, plutonium, and isotopes that it would be uneconomical for the government to build and operate reactors for the production, ultimately, of only one of these. He continued: "If to the general reactor program we added companies which are producing with private capital reactor materials, nuclear instruments, fuels, and other supplementary materials, the need for relying upon government sources for these materials would be removed and we would have, in effect, atomic energy on a private-enterprise basis."

Some three months later David E. Lilienthal, former chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Atomic Energy Commission, and now chairman of the Attapulgas Minerals and Chemicals Corporation, said amen to this suggestion. He thought that "the production of fissionable material contributes a good place to start shifting atomic energy over to the competitive system by steps." After a transition period he foresaw the time when even the Atomic Energy Commission's famous Oak Ridge and Hanford plants could go out of public ownership. He summed up the attitude of business when he said that he did not want to see "our American competitive industrial system and our educational system as the first casualties of the atom."

Within the last few weeks the Atomic Industrial Forum, Inc., has made its bow. Walker L. Cisler, according to the *Electrical World,* is its "guiding spirit." This organization is designed to perform for the atomic-energy industry the same functions that the Edison Electric Institute performs for the electric-power industry. Clearly, a parallel organization to protect and promote the great consumer interest in atomic power is urgently called for.

But this is not the only evidence that the private-power monopoly is a jump ahead of consumers in the race to control atomic power. On April 11 the Atomic Energy Commission announced conclusion of an agreement under which two companies serving the utility industry will make a study aimed at industrial production of atomic power in the next few years. These companies are the Pioneer Service and Engineering Company, consultant to the electric utilities in all phases of the power business, and the Foster Wheeler Corporation of New York, manufacturer of equipment for the power, oil-refining, and chemical industries. They are added to the four utility-industrial teams already at work. Under the agreement with the commission these companies, at their own expense, will make a one-year study to determine (1) the feasibility of their designing, building, and operating an atomic-power plant; (2) the economic and technical aspects of building such a plant in the next few years; and (3) whether the project will require any research and development beyond that already done by the government.

The two firms will also make recommendations to the Atomic Energy Com-

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mission on industry's role in undertaking and carrying out the power project. This will serve as the focus of industry's participation in the next stages of atomic-power development. But since the assignment involves matters of vital interest to the people, who have invested billions of dollars in the atomic program and are ultimate consumers of the power, the situation calls for a similar contract between the Atomic Energy Commission and an organization provided with sufficient funds to be able to represent all consumer groups in preparing the necessary studies, reports, and recommendations.

IN THIS CONNECTION it should not be forgotten that publicly owned electric utilities in the United States, excluding those owned by the federal government, represent an investment of nearly two and a half billion dollars and supply some 3,700,000 customers with over forty billion kilowatt-hours per year. Including rural electric cooperatives, the people's investment in customer-owned power systems totals nearly five billion dollars and provides more than seven million customers with electric service. This great area of local autonomy in power supply cannot be overlooked in any move to revise national atomic-energy policy.

Last February the American Public Power Association, trade organization of the country's municipally owned electric systems, asked the Atomic Energy Commission for permission to participate in the atomic-power program on a basis of equality with privately owned systems. Subsequently, on April 14, their Atomic Power Policy Committee, headed by Samuel B. Morris, general manager of the City of Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, clarified the association's position on the Atomic Energy Act in a letter to Chairman Dean of the commission.

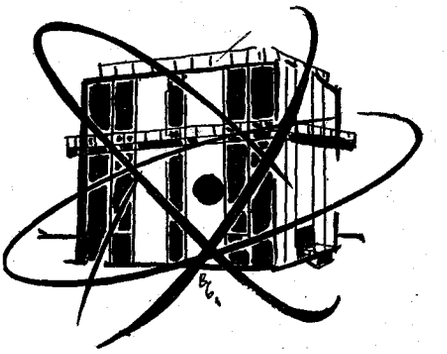
Its estimate of the existing situation was amplified in a report to the association's national convention in Boston, presented by Mr. Morris on May 13. The association considers the problem of government policy in the atomic-energy field "from the viewpoint of protecting the government's interest and of making available to the maximum number of people in the United States the benefits which may accrue from development of this new source of energy." To this end it indorses the provisions of the present Atomic Energy Act and urges that any amendments provide safeguards against monopolistic advantages for private groups.

The urgency of such organized effort to have the public represented in the forthcoming reappraisal of the law is apparent when *Barron's* weekly, authentic voice of Wall Street finance, headlines a front-page story in its March 2 issue: "Power for the Future: It Should Be Freed from the Legacy of the Past." The story deals with the announced intention of the Westinghouse Electric Corporation to build a multimillion-dollar atomic-energy equipment plant near Pittsburgh and with the company's statement that "this investment is an expression of our belief that private enterprise will become an increasingly important factor in the future development of nuclear energy."

Barron's hails this as representing "a new post-election high in corporate confidence in the free economy." The legacy from the past, from which the "power of the future" should be freed, is not the watering of capital stock or the manipulation of education and politics by the private-power industry, exposed by the Federal Trade Commission some twenty years ago. Rather, according to *Barron's,* it is "the old 'socializing' legislation looking toward extension of public power" and, more particularly, the so-called "preference clause," which is referred to as "probably the most arbitrary symbol of the clutch of the public-power philosophy upon the legislative mind." The "preference clause," granting public systems a prior claim on federal power, has been Congressional policy since the Reclamation Act of 1906. It appears in one form or another in the Federal Power Act, the Tennessee Valley Authority Act, the Bonneville Act, the Rural Electrification Act, and the Flood Control Act of 1944. It simply protects the people's own local electric systems in the right to obtain power from public resources, free from dependence on private monopoly as middleman.

Thus it becomes crystal clear that the alleged drive to eliminate federal monopoly and open the door to private monopoly in the development of atomic power is part of the larger private-power campaign against the federal power policy which has come down by unbroken evolution from the birth of the conservation movement in the days of President Theodore Roosevelt and his "great forester," Gifford Pinchot. It is a continuation of the battle that has been waged over the Tennessee Valley Authority, over legislative efforts to create Missouri and Columbia valley authorities, over appropriations for transmission lines to deliver government power to municipalities and rural electric cooperatives. It is perhaps a foretaste of a coming battle to save the great federal power developments from ex-President Hoover's proposed "going-out-of-business" sale. All this makes the indorsement of the provisions of the present atomic-energy law by the American Public Power Association's committee on atomic energy extremely important. And I conclude this article by commending the committee's further suggestions to the thoughtful consideration of all concerned with the country's great resources program.

THE COMMITTEE recommends (1) that there be no release of controls until adequate knowledge and information are available concerning the development of atomic energy for industrial purposes and power, and then only with adequate safeguards against private monopoly; (2) that the Atomic Energy Commission itself assume responsibility for the development of a pilot plant for the pro-



duction of electric energy, this being amply justified by the tremendous energy requirements of the commission's program; and (3) that publicly owned electric utilities be afforded the same same opportunity to participate under contract in the research and pilot-plant program as other electric-utility and in-

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dustrial groups. A portion of the language of this last recommendation is worth quoting. It runs:

> Because this energy potentially represents one which stands as a natural governmental monopoly and one where the advantages must be spread ultimately to the people, it is urged that publicly owned electric utilities also be afforded the opportunity of participating in such development contracts because of their experience in distributing such benefits to the public. For similar reasons, the publicly owned electric utilities should be recognized and be permitted to adequately share in the application of atomic energy to electric-power production when such application has been demonstrated to be appropriate by the results of pilot-plant operation.

As a step toward meeting the need for widespread public understanding of the atomic-energy issue, the report of the atomic-power policy committee of the American Public Power Association should be given wide circulation. Its emphasis on "natural government monopoly" and on the experience of publicly owned utilities "in distributing such benefits to the public" reflects fundamental principles which have been hewn out over the years. Only as the people understand the applicability of these principles to the present situation can they make sure that any reconsideration of the Atomic Energy Act will result in a strengthening of America's great conservation policy.

FRANCO'S BEST BET

Washington and War . . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

French-Spanish Border

THE French-Spanish border has always been an unexcelled center of observation and information about Spain. Spaniards cross it every day, and once in France their tongues are loosened. I arrived at the border at a moment of great rejoicing for the Franco regime. As I hope to show in this article, the reasons for the rejoicing are rather slim; however, the presumably imminent signing of the bilateral treaty with the United States compensates the dictatorship, *at least for the time being,* for its loss in popularity even among its former followers. The Spanish dictator, quite incapable of solving the country's multiplying domestic problems, is pinning all his hopes on becoming, with Germany, one of America's two safe allies and hence the recipient of generous aid.

A speech made by Franco on a recent visit to Andalusia, which was intended to remain secret, confirmed the fact that it is the United States to which he looks for salvation. The Caudillo was speaking at army headquarters in Seville. He talked as a soldier among soldiers, without any diplomatic restraint and without anticipating the indiscretions which occurred later. "How happy I am," he said, "to find myself once more among my old comrades-in-arms. In Morocco and later during the war [1936-39] we tempered our spirits for the great days that still await us. I ask you not to lose the enthusiasm of those days because I can assure you that the Third World War *is coming.* When it comes, those who have been chary with their aid and denied us what we need will give us what we need; more, they will give us what we demand." The censorship forbade any reproduction of this speech or any allusions to it; however, its substance was broadcast by a local radio commentator and then quickly suppressed.

The speech showed how academic was the discussion in the United Nations about whether or not Franco represents a menace to peace. His regime is one that lives for war and is a disturbing element in the international situation. Any sign that international tension is diminishing creates anxiety and rage in the Falangist press and radio. At this moment the man the regime hates most is Churchill, and the country it abuses most is England. The thought that the British Premier's policy may lead to a big-power conference which will reduce tension and make it less urgent for the United States to utilize Spain is enough to keep the Falangists in a constant panic. It is a race with time: which will come first, the signing of the Spanish-American treaty or the conference called for by Churchill? Fury against the British sometimes takes ridiculous forms, such as the government-ordered sabotage of the Coronation. Both radio and newspapers have been told to mention the Coronation as little as possible. Coronation advertising matter is refused by the press under the pretext of lack of space.

Non-Franquist Spaniards do not understand American policy toward their country. They cannot find a reasonable explanation for the fact that, at a time when American aid to Europe is being reduced, the Franco government, which is the most corrupt and incompetent of them all and is certain sooner or later to be removed from power, should be the only one exempted from cuts. The opponents of Franco agree at least on one point: the day Franco falls, all the obligations he has undertaken toward the United States will be declared null and void.

Many of the questions Spaniards ask are of a moral nature. A poor Protestant pastor who had to seek refuge in France asked me: "But is not the United States a Protestant country? And is not General Eisenhower himself a Protestant?" He was astonished that American Protestants had not fought more energetically against the policy of aid to Franco. He told me of a number of recent incidents which prove conclusively that after a brief period of "toleration"—while the treaty was being negotiated—Protestants are once more being persecuted in Spain and cannot openly practice their religion there. "The authorities are applying preventive medicine," he said. "Believing that once the treaty is signed many American soldiers and officials will come to Spain, they want to create an atmos-

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phere of anti-Protestant terror so as to prevent the opening of new Protestant churches and the reopening of the few existing ones, now closed. American Protestants will soon find out what is awaiting them in Spain."

Franco needs dollars to cope with a grave crisis which has many causes, though the principal one is that, like all dictators, he has adopted a wholly unrealistic economic policy for reasons of "prestige." A large industrialist, until recently a follower of Franco, told me that the regime maintains the peseta at an excessively high level solely because a cheap peseta is incompatible with the dictator's glory. The more serious among Spain's banking and financial leaders believe that the government's economic policy has failed in its three chief objectives—to modernize industry and agriculture, to increase exports, and to establish some equilibrium between prices and salaries.

These people think that with the two hundred million dollars Madrid apparently expects to get from Washington in exchange for naval and air bases the dictatorship will be able to postpone its downfall for some time longer. They say: "It will be a good business for Franco but not for the Americans." The same people believe that the United States would have to spend some two billion dollars to get any real results; that the two hundred million dollars will be a mere drop in the ocean. It would require ten times that sum merely to put the Spanish railroads in order and to fit the roads to carry heavy armament, quite apart from procuring equipment for an army which is ill supplied in most essentials. In this connection I have found other evidence of the incoherent character of Franco's policy. While the government is asking for more dollars, some of the dollars already in Spain are lying idle. This applies, for example, to a sum allotted to the Altos Hornos de Bilbao Ironworks.

The United States is embarking on troubled waters which no amount of financial "oil" will succeed in quieting. Franco's ministers travel from one province to another, dealing with complaints and promising improvements and reforms which are never made. Meanwhile, the government at Madrid is paralyzed by their absence. A very successful Spanish film, "Bienvenido Mr. Marshall" ("Welcome Mr. Marshall"), which won a prize at the Cannes Festival, shows a high official of the Franco government going to a town to prepare the triumphal reception of the Americans. But the townspeople, believing that he has come to promise them once more the new railroad which has been promised year after year, receive him with great skepticism. It seems almost inconceivable that such a film should have been made in Spain, for even if some people see in it a satire against the Americans, it is undoubtedly aimed at the Franco regime. There are towns in Spain where the cornerstone of a public building has been ceremoniously laid ten times, without ever being crowned by a second stone.

Franco has now joined the journeyings of his ministers to raise public morale. He has recently visited Andalusia, where there is starvation among the peasants, and will shortly go to Catalonia, a traditional breeding ground of social unrest. In Andalusia, Franco spoke to the

poor at the opening of a cheap housing project. He talked without a prepared script and his words were significant. He said: "I know very well that the Marxist and revolutionary virus has not left you but we came to power to offer you realities, not utopian promises." Unhappily, the realities are starvation wages and a discontent which no quantity of dollars will abate.

Any American tourist will tell yo there is much new construction in Spain. It is true that there are many new buildings in the center of Madrid which give an impression of prosperity. However, the great working-class belt surrounding the city, which the tourist does not see, is full of shacks and caves in which the people, to quote the Falangist newspaper *Pueblo,* live "worse than pigs." A pathetic feature of Madrid life today is the competition for these wretched shelters. A black market in them has grown up in the last few months and hundreds of families are dealing in it. The police recently intervened in an alleged case of profanation of a cemetery. But there was no profanation; there were only some children who had preempted vacant niches, as yet unoccupied by coffins, to sleep in during the night.

WHAT ARE the prospects of the Franco regime? One thing is certain: the process of decomposition is going on. The crisis is affecting a larger number of people every day. Not only does the whole national economy suffer, but also those classes and professional groups which the regime might use to maintain itself by satisfying individual egoisms at the expense of the country. It is the engineer, the architect, the army officer, and the small business man whose situation is becoming ever more wretched. Indifference and cynicism fade when general misfortune becomes personal misfortune. Even the most conservative are beginning to oppose Franco without really wishing to do so, and the time is past when people shrugged their shoulders, refused to take an interest in politics, and preferred to enjoy life by frequenting soccer matches and bull fights.

A section of the army is against Franco —without, however, seriously thinking of displacing him—and even part of the church has turned its back on him. Despite the immense benefits showered on the clergy, intelligent prelates, like Bishop Herrera of Malaga, do not forget the danger the church will be in when Franco disappears and it is left as the principal pillar of the hated dictatorship. Even the Vatican is now reserved in its support; America provides Franco with his only substantial backing.

But as the Spanish saying goes, "There are friends that kill." Many people believe that the American operation in Spain, while helping Franco temporarily, will cause great trouble among his generals and his followers. For in spite of formal assurances that "the dignity and national sovereignty of Spain have been preserved" in the negotiations with the United States, many Spaniards fear that Spain will be converted into "a barracks for the American army" without even being admitted to the NATO organization.

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ASIA'S REVOLUTIONS

Meanings for the West . . . *by Aneurin Bevan*

London

ON TWO occasions I visited the Indian Parliament in New Delhi. Making allowance for the very different physical setting and for the costumes and complexions of the members, I might have been sitting in the Strangers' Gallery of the British House of Commons.

The procedure is the same. The standing orders have been copied from our own. Lying on the table before me as I write is a volume presented to me by the clerk to the Peoples' House of the Indian Parliament. It is the record of conversations which took place between him and the clerks and officials of the House of Commons when India was framing its constitution and determining upon the procedure it was to adopt for its own Parliament.

There is, however, one fundamental difference. Like many other modern constitutions, India's is preceded by a declaration of fundamental rights to which legislation must conform and which is construed by the courts.

The Indian government has already discovered that this is a mixed blessing. In the same way that the United States has found the powers of the Supreme Court to be a real hindrance to effective action in times of crisis, India is finding that too exact and detailed a description of individual rights can be an immobilizing clamp on the Representative Assembly. But the important thing is that India has decided that its political way of life must follow the pattern of the Western democracies. This is true also of Ceylon, Burma, and Pakistan, although the last has still to agree upon the character of its constitution.

This decision of the nations of Southeast Asia has consequences for all of us which have not yet been fully realized. The reason for the decision should be studied by those who are so critical of the abrupt withdrawal of British power from Southeast Asia. This withdrawal meant that new nations could go about the task of constitution-making in a calmer atmosphere than would have existed if independence had been won on the battlefield. China was denied such an evolution. Imperial domination and civil war made impossible a calm selection among a number of constitutional alternatives, and the decision eventually made in China was as much the result of imposed circumstances as the choice of its victorious leaders.

THE LESSON is obvious and has been so often stated that it is depressing to have to repeat it. It is that national resentment against foreign rule, if too long repressed, acquires a social content that carries the national movement beyond its original center of gravity and results in a social revolution. Unfortunately, the change which thus takes place is the establishment of a form of dictatorship often more oppressive than the one it dislodged, and so another fundamental upsurge is necessary before it can be said that the people have been truly set free.

What is happening in Southeast Asia is therefore unique in the history of the world. Democratic governments have been established in countries with backward industrial techniques, in conditions of life infinitely inferior to those which preceded the Industrial Revolution in Europe. Furthermore, these governments are assailed by the meretricious claims of opulent America and by the intellectual dogmatism of Soviet propaganda. Between the two it would not be surprising if the infant nations faltered and failed.

It would be disastrous for us if they did fail. And I do not mean disastrous in a purely military sense. Their failure would mean an arid polarization between the industrial power of the United States on the one hand and the massed millions of the colored peoples on the other. What we have to do is to preserve for mankind the utmost variety of choice. For, after all, civilization means opportunity freely to choose between a number of proffered alternatives. The more alternatives there are, the more civilized we can be said to be.

These nations of Southeast Asia are trying to do what has never been done before. They are trying consciously to organize their economic and social life by free consent through the instrumentality of representative institutions, and they are trying to do it with a largely illiterate people. These are stirred into often premature demands by what they learn of the more expansive life of the West, and are consequently impatient of the slowness of the progress imposed by their own inevitable handicaps.

We did not succeed in revolutionizing our country by consent. Democracy came to us after the Industrial Revolution, not before. Nor did America do what India has attempted. The Fathers of the American Revolution did not have five hundred millions of illiterate and half-starved people to mull over the finer points of the Declaration of Independence. The Soviet Union did not do it. At an early stage it abandoned all hope of establishing democratic institutions and forced its industrial revolution through by the machinery of the police state.

These are the facts of history, and I do not recall them here to quarrel with them. The silliest thing to do with history is to quarrel with it. But it is necessary to keep all this in mind if we are to view what is happening in Southeast Asia with a true sense of historical perspective.

IT IS EVEN more important that the people of India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, and Ceylon should have a clear sense of what they are doing and where they are going. It is not enough that they are making an industrial revolution, es-

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ANEURIN BEVAN, leader of the left wing of the British Labor Party, recently returned from a trip through Southeast Asia. This is the second of two articles about his journey. The first appeared in our issue of May 16.

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sential though that is. It is not necessary now to prove that men of all shades of color can make and manage machines. That is what is so tiresome about a great deal of Soviet propaganda. Only people blinded by outworn theories of national and racial inferiority needed to have it proved that a Russian peasant, like any other, could learn to be a skilled mechanic.

What Russia has shown is how the economic life of a nation can be planned and organized purposefully, and that technical progress is possible without the propulsions of private profit. What Russia failed to show was that this can be done without a centralized bureaucracy and without the compulsions, fears, and disciplines of the monolithic state.

It is not political democracy that is on trial in Southeast Asia. It is democracy as an instrument of revolutionary change. And the fate of mankind may depend on the outcome.

DEFENSE OR DEPRESSION

Is There an Alternative? . . *by Arnold A. Rogow*

TO WHAT extent is the American economy dependent on defense expenditure? The Russians, of course, believe that the prosperity of big business, at least, derives from war preparations, and their view is not inconsistent with the recent performance of the stock market following the peace overtures. Indeed, it has received considerable support within the United States from circles normally considered above suspicion by the Yahoo from Wisconsin. Before the election Eisenhower himself noted that the current prosperity was to a considerable extent war-financed. On September 6, 1952, *Business Week* remarked that industrial capacity "is getting so large that it now takes a consumer-goods boom plus a king-sized defense program to keep everyone busy." More recently *U. S. News and World Report,* surveying the distribution of defense contracts, found that between June, 1950, and June, 1952, the top 100 contracting corporations received $43,800,000,000 worth of prime defense contracts, or 62.4 per cent of all those worth $10,000 or more, and concluded that "arms is essentially big business."

For various reasons, however, America's economic welfare need not be considered absolutely dependent on the defense program. Although $181,000,000,000 has been appropriated for defense since Korea, only $87,000,000,000 had been spent by February, 1953. There has been a deliberate "stretch-out" of the program and hence relatively little interference with business as usual. Thus far defense production has largely come out of increased output and has not reduced civilian consumption and non-military investment.

On the other hand, the $87,000,000,000 already spent has had a stimulating effect on business activity, and it is even possible to argue that the present level of defense expenditure is the decisive element in the current prosperity and will be a vital anti-recession influence for some time. Indeed, it is the thesis of this article that economic well-being in the years ahead will require either a further expansion on the defense sector or more radical political and economic reforms than any that have been previously attempted.

Support for this thesis emerges clearly from an examination of the present scale of defense business in a number of key industries. Of the top 100 prime defense contractors, 9 are automobile manufacturers; and of the top 10 contractors, which together hold more than twenty billion dollars' worth of defense contracts, or 28.7 per cent of the total, 3 are automobile companies. The Ford Motor Company, which ranks third among automobile contractors, does not, unfortunately, publish its accounts. But for seven of the automobile concerns information based on company reports is available and is presented in the table below.

The defense business of not one of the seven companies, it will be seen, amounted to less than 14 per cent of its total business in 1952; for four companies it was approximately one-third, and for one company almost two-thirds of total business. General Motors almost doubled and Chrysler more than quadrupled defense volume between 1951 and 1952. Moreover, at the end of 1952 all the companies had substantial backlogs of government orders. A General Motors official recently estimated that even with a 20 per cent increase in total business over 1952, the company's de-

THE AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY AND DEFENSE

Company	*Rank among prime defense contractors, June, 1950–June, 1952*	*Value of contracts June, 1950–June, 1952 ($ millions)*	*Net sales, year ending December 31, ($ millions)* 1951	1952	*Defense business as percentage of total business* 1951	1952
General Motors	1	5,489	7,466	7,549	10	19
Chrysler	3	2,226	2,547	2,601	3	14
Studebaker	17	747	503	585	—	36
Packard	24	407	178	234	—	30
Willys-Overland	27	387	220	302	21	32
Reo	31	316	113	150	—	66
Kaiser-Fraser	33	303	—	*57	—	*39

* First 9 months of 1952.

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fense business would amount to 20 per cent of the total.

Five of the top ten defense contractors are aircraft companies; between June, 1950, and June, 1952, they obtained contracts totaling almost $7,500,000,000, and at the present time the entire industry holds about $25,000,000,000 worth of government contracts. Since Korea the industry has not published detailed accounts, but evidence available suggests that it is almost entirely dependent on defense contracts. The United Aircraft Corporation, which holds fifth place among the top 100 contractors, in 1952 transacted 86 per cent of its business with the government, an increase of 2 per cent over 1951. The percentage of defense to total business was probably not less for the other major aircraft producers.

The dependence of the aircraft industry on defense contracts is of course unique, but the defense business of a number of more diversified industries is still impressive. In steel the defense volume in 1952 amounted to 15 per cent of the total. Last year the government took 50 per cent of the output of machine-tool manufacturers and about 60 per cent of the output of the electronics industry; between 10 and 20 per cent of the total business of the largest farm-machinery concerns was on government contract.

BUT PERHAPS the most significant figures are those describing the relationship between the defense program and full employment. At the end of 1952 private and public employment, including the armed services, totaled approximately 66,000,000. According to government figures, 7,000,000 workers were directly or indirectly engaged in the defense program, and 3,600,000 persons were in the armed services. In other words, about 10,600,000 persons, or almost one out of every six employed, were involved directly or indirectly in defense.

The crucial question of course is: What would that one out of every six be doing if he were not employed in the defense program? If "peace broke out," would he find employment in non-defense work or would he be unemployed? No certain answer to this can be given, and it is well to keep in mind that forecasts of mass unemployment after World War II proved incorrect. On the other hand, the cold war is not World War II all over again. Economic factors which were important during and after the war are not present today; indeed, the contrasts between the two economic situations are striking and sobering.

In the first place, the present labor force does not contain any substantial number of "expendables." In recent years, according to the Department of Commerce, the civilian labor force has received no large influx of adolescents, housewives, or people past the usual retirement age. Nor, since Korea, has the number of hours worked in any large sector of the economy been appreciably extended. Both these things occurred on a large scale during World War II, and therefore, says the Commerce Department, "full employment in

the immediate post-war period was consistent with a considerable reduction from war-time peaks in the total of military and civilian employment and in working hours—a situation which is present to only a small extent today."

Secondly, during the cold war, in contrast to World War II, no substantial reserve of savings, private or business, and no considerable backlog or demand for either consumer or capital goods have been built up. In 1952 business added approximately $26,500,000,000 of new plant and equipment without scrapping much of the old plant, and the outlay in 1953 is expected to reach the record figure of $27,000,000,000. This increased capacity has made it possible to satisfy civilian requirements and defense needs.

As a result, there is little likelihood that consumer demand can be expanded sufficiently to absorb any substantial shift from defense to consumer goods; indeed, there is considerable doubt that it will continue at its present rate. According to *Business Week*, 44 per cent of all automobiles in use are only three years old or less, compared with 28 per cent in 1949; 60 per cent of all refrigerators are post-war models. Moreover, output of automobiles, television sets, and home appliances is currently running ahead of demand. It is also worth noting that much of the consumer demand in the last few years has been financed by borrowing. Instalment debt has increased 36 per cent since Korea, and according to a recent estimate, consumer credit now represents 10 per cent of disposable income.

All the signs, in short, suggest that a recession is a probability unless in the next few years defense spending rises above present levels, or appropriations for Point Four and non-defense government expenditure are greatly increased. The choice seems to be between a "warfare" state and an all-out welfare state. Moscow, of course, will influence the decision, but in the final analysis, assuming no Soviet aggression, the choice will be made in Washington. A welfare state under Republican auspices is not out of the question, but it could not be set up easily.

It would require, first, a substantial shift of power from industry to the government. Business would be represented less in the government and labor more than at present; and the total effect of taxation, redistribution of income, social services, and controls would be to reduce the business share of wealth and influence. The warfare state, however, leaves the status quo fundamentally untouched. Industrial leaders staff the key positions and make the basic decisions. Taxation is not designed to redistribute income, social services are not extended, and controls are held to a minimum. The whole tendency of the warfare state is to consolidate business power through a meshing of public and private interests.

A second difficulty is the public's apparent unwillingness to accept any enlightened alternative to the warfare-state solution. Politically it is easier to expand the defense sector than to institute welfare measures or generate support for Point Four. And, clearly, Point Four would be an adequate solution only if it represented a conscious attempt to distribute billions of dollars of purchasing power annually across a world which includes the Iron Curtain countries. Unfortunately, the question whether, in peace time, the nation is willing to pay taxes to feed and equip a good part of the world needs only to be raised to be answered.

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Freedom of the Printed Word

By J. R. Wiggins

[*Herewith we inaugurate our own "Voice of America," an occasional feature bringing to our readers condensations of or excerpts from speeches which we consider of special interest but which have received little or no notice in the press. J. R. Wiggins, managing editor of the Washington* Post, *is chairman of the Freedom of Information Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the membership of which has been constituted a special group to study the possible threat to press freedom contained in Senator McCarthy's questioning of James Wechsler, editor of the New York* Post. *The speech from which the following excerpts are taken was delivered before the Maryland Library Association.* —EDITORS THE NATION.]

WHEN a Congressional committee summons an editor before it and subjects him to hours of secret questioning and examination and interrogation, every man to whom the printed word is sacred must feel rising out of his cultural subconscious the warnings of history. At the first signal of such invasion the mind goes rushing back through the centuries to earlier examples of printers summoned before the bar of the House of Commons in England, to editors harried from their homes by hostile governor's councils and vengeful assemblies in the American colonies.

And when members of Congress sit in judgment to decide what books may be appropriately left upon library shelves, other memories are stirred. As individuals we may be in agreement with members of Congress on the faults and flaws of many literary works. We may deplore, as Congressmen deplore, the inclusion of some publications on lists of books sent abroad as representative of our culture. But those with an eye on the past can hardly fail to feel an instinctive anxiety about government in the role of book critic.

However objectionable some political ideas may be, American citizens have a right to know about them, to form their own judgments of them, to arrive at their own devices for dealing with them. Ignorance is certainly not our refuge, and our principles are not so poor or our philosophies so weak as to require the protection of censorship against the competition of rival philosophies or systems.

WHEN Congressional investigators, however well intentioned, invade with their inquiries the schools and churches—even though they interrogate only individual teachers and churchmen and not the institutions as such—other recollections are stirred. In 1687 James II created a commission to exercise jurisdiction over Magdalene College at Oxford. Among the three commissioners, it is interesting to note, was Sir Thomas Jenner. These three commissioners turned out the duly constituted authorities of the college, with whom they disagreed on religion, and pronounced the ejected fellows incapable of ever holding any church preferment. It was an act of infamy that remains fresh in English minds these 250 years later.

When political leaders have the power to move against the church, they are in constant danger of being led into abuse of that power by men motivated by religious hates. Religious leaders are peculiarly vulnerable to the sort of conspiracy that one Robert Young attempted against the Bishop of Rochester in the reign of William and Mary in 1692. An accomplice of Young concealed in the home of the Bishop of Rochester a document containing the forged signatures of many associates of the Bishop, binding them to action against the King. The forgery was sufficiently plausible so that the Bishop was summoned before the privy council and questioned. He succeeded in establishing his innocence. Then the Bishop returned quietly to his residence at Bromley.

In our time, we have also seen a bishop unjustly accused. What malice filled the files of the Un-American Activities Committee with reckless and ill-founded charges against G. Bromley Oxnam we may never know. That so formidable a dossier could have been assembled against a man so innocent of the least affiliation with or sympathy for communism is sufficient warning that innocence is no protection against this sort of damage. As long as Congressional committees are willing to become the repository of libelous and scandalous charges against churchmen, there will be no lack of rogues to supply their files.

ONE FATAL weakness marks the Congressional investigations of the press, libraries, schools, and churches. Most of these inquiries have not been concerned with the development of information essential to the act of legislating. Little legislation has emerged from them. These Congressional committees have been performing essentially judicial functions. In many cases, they have combined executive, judicial, and legislative functions. As Madison has wisely observed, the concentration of legislative, judicial, and executive functions in a single body is the very definition of tyranny.

The legislature is especially deficient as a court of justice, and its deficiencies have been well understood in Anglo-Saxon countries for 300 years. Macaulay has well stated them:

> However clearly political crime may have been defined by ancient laws, a man accused of it ought not to be tried by a crowd of 513 eager politicians of whom he can challenge none even with cause, who have no judge to guide them, who are allowed to come in and go out as they choose, who hear as much or as little as they choose of the accusation and of the defense, who are exposed, during the investigation, to every kind of corrupting influence, who are inflamed by all the passions which animated debate naturally excites, who cheer one orator and cough down another, who are roused from sleep to cry Aye or No, or who are hurried half drunk from their suppers to divide.

Though our legislative body may have improved in sobriety and demeanor, many of the solid objections that Macaulay makes against all legislative bodies acting in judicial capacity still are valid.

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BOOKS

The Ethics of John D.

STUDY IN POWER: JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, INDUSTRIALIST AND PHILANTHROPIST. By Allan Nevins. Charles Scribner's Sons. Two Volumes. $10.

By Keith Hutchison

CONSIDERING the central role of big business in the American drama, there have been all too few dispassionate studies of its evolution. The many journalistic essays in this field have usually varied between the extremes of hostility and sycophancy. Professional scholars, as Professor Nevins points out in his preface to "Study in Power," have faced two handicaps in undertaking business histories and biographies. On the one hand, corporations have been reluctant to make their records available; on the other, books founded on such records have been suspect as uncritical.

Although an increasing number of corporations are now opening their archives, not all have learned that it is unbecoming to attach strings to this gesture. Some, indeed, employ scholars, at temptingly handsome fees, to write company histories under the supervision of their public-relations departments. Whatever the value of the resulting product as institutional advertising, as history it is apt to be beneath contempt.

Needless to say, Nevins's book is not of this kind. He incurred no obligations in gaining access to the Rockefeller and Standard Oil files, and it is clear that he has made every effort to deal judicially with their contents and the mass of other material he has brought under review. But if Nevins has not been seduced by living Rockefellers, I do feel that he has, in a sense, been overawed by the mighty dead one, whom he depicts as a good man who committed many evil acts usually from the best of motives and with generally healthy consequences. This paradox, as I shall try to show later, leads to some strange conclusions.

KEITH HUTCHISON, a contributing editor, was formerly The Nation's *financial editor.*

Nevins, of course, tackled this subject once before when he wrote "John D. Rockefeller: The Heroic Age of American Enterprise" (1940). The subsequent discovery of a long-lost mass of papers persuaded him to reassess the evidence.

Actually, the omissions in the new book, which is more than 400 pages shorter, bulk larger than the additions. In 1940 the author dealt at length with Rockefeller's parentage and childhood. Now he hurdles these preliminaries in one brief chapter and omits many other family and personal details. Less justifiable is the compression of his account of the Ludlow massacre, the omission of any reference to the Corrigan lawsuit, and the total disregard of the labors of Ivy Lee, the public-relations expert who labored to change the public idea of Rockefeller from devil to saint.

Again, in 1940 Nevins gave much space to a highly critical analysis of Henry Demarest Lloyd's "Wealth Against Commonwealth," the historically important exposure of the Standard Oil monopoly that appeared in 1894. In this book the indictment of Lloyd as a "hysterical" and "inaccurate" writer remains, but the detailed evidence supporting the charge has been truncated.

It seems to me, however, that on this matter amplification was desirable in the light of an article by Professor Chester McA. Destler in the *American Historical Review* of October, 1944. Destler, chairman of the Department of History at Connecticut College, challenged Nevins's treatment of Lloyd, pointing out that "Wealth Against Commonwealth" had been accepted as important and accurate by many reputable historians; indeed, Nevins himself in his biography of Grover Cleveland (1932) had described it as "a searching exposure, amply buttressed by details."

In justice to Lloyd's memory Destler undertook a painstaking examination of Lloyd's citation of sources and concluded that with minor exceptions his statements were supported by his documentation. Further, while defending the honesty of Lloyd's reporting of the famous Buffalo oil case (1887), he questioned Nevins's own account of this trial, in which the managers of a Standard-controlled company were found guilty of criminal conspiracy.

Nevins replied to Destler vehemently and at length in the April, 1945, issue of the *American Historical Review,* but makes no reference to the controversy in this book. It is not a contest that can be adjudicated in the course of a review, but since Nevins repeats his charges against Lloyd, it is unfortunate that he has buttressed them less strongly than before.

Moreover, whatever may be said against Lloyd, the fact remains that many of his conclusions are sustained by Nevins. For instance, while Nevins shows that Lloyd erred in foisting the parentage of the South Improvement Company on Rockefeller—it was a railroad bastard—he agrees that the plan to give members of the company rebates not only on their own oil shipments but on those of their competitors was zealously promoted by the Standard Oil directors. "Of all devices for extinction of competition," he writes, "this was the cruelest and most deadly yet conceived by any group of American industrialists."

When this scheme was exploded by public indignation Rockefeller went quietly to work on "our plan," which involved the purchase of enough refinery capacity to give Standard practical control of the industry. There was talk at the time, and long after, of undue pressure being used to force mergers, and no doubt knowledge of the exceptionally favorable freight rates Standard was able to command encouraged firms to accept the terms offered. However, many refinery owners when threatened by the Rockefeller embrace accepted the classic advice to victims of rape: they relaxed and enjoyed it. Only much later did some of them, like the Widow Backus, about whose case Lloyd was clearly misinformed, complain of insufficiently compensated seduction.

One of the worst features of the consolidation campaign which continued from 1872 to 1878, by which date Standard controlled eleven-twelfths of the refining industry, was the secrecy that accompanied it. Thus Camden's Parkersburg refinery, after being absorbed in 1878, continued to pretend independence in dealing with railroads and pipe

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lines. Nevins declares that this "calculated deceit," approved by Rockefeller, merits "unsparing censure."

Space forbids quotation of more than one or two other examples of Nevins's condemnation of the methods by which Standard built its monopoly. He speaks of its officers "juggling with truth" on the witness stand; he refers to their "ugly tactics" in seeking to block independent pipe lines: he shows them buying political and newspaper influence, although their activities of this kind were relatively restrained compared with those of some business notables of the "Heroic Age."

But while condemning Standard Oil, Nevins also defends it. If its means were often bad, he says in effect, its ends proved good. If unethical methods fostered its growth, its success owed much more to superior organization and techniques. Above all, it replaced competitive chaos by *order*—a conception dear to all monopolists, political and industrial.

IN HIS 1940 PREFACE Nevins spoke of himself as "a convinced believer in a free competitive economy." He does not repeat the phrase in 1953, and in fact he appears to have developed a horror of competition, for he seldom uses the word without attaching to it some such opprobrious adjective as "savage," "ruinous," or "wasteful." And while he shows the crushing of that competition, in oil as in many other industries, as a ruthless process often carried out with utter disregard for the laws of God and man alike, he seems to justify it in the name of economic progress. "Had our pace been slower and our achievement weaker," he writes, "had we not created so swiftly our powerful industrial units in steel, oil, textiles, chemicals, electricity, and the automotive vehicles, the free world might have lost the First World War and most certainly would have lost the second."

Offensive as this point of view is to American moral tradition, it is not easy to attack. It is true that revolutions, including industrial revolutions, are not made with kid gloves. It can be argued that if men like Rockefeller had followed the Ten Commandments as strictly in their business dealings as in their personal lives, our industrial development would have been much slower. It is possible that fair profits, earned by strictly lawful means, did not, in the last century, provide sufficient incentive to the taking of great risks. It may be that we owe our startling expansion of wealth in part to those "robber barons" who had the audacity to evade the laws and accumulate by sharp practices sufficient profits to accelerate the rate of capital formation.

If these things are true—and Nevins's logic is as persuasive as it is shocking—then economic theory must be revised to take account of both the positive disutility of Christian ethics and the economic function of chicanery. In fact, we revert to the philosophy of "The Fable of the Bees; or, Private Vices, Publick Benefits," in which Bernard Mandeville horrified his eighteenth-century readers by contending that religious or legal restraints on the satisfaction of selfish desires were harmful to society.

New Books in Brief

Our Changing Foreign Policy

FOREIGN POLICY WITHOUT FEAR. By Vera Micheles Dean. McGraw-Hill. $3.75.

Vera Micheles Dean has written, since 1938, a number of books on American foreign policy, dealing with "Europe in Retreat" in Hitler's day and with "Russia: Menace or Promise?" in the days when some other Americans, too, could not make up their minds how to answer the question. Today she rightly points out that all free nations agree "that an aggressive Russia, armed with all the dread attributes of the police state and Communist parties in other nations subservient to Moscow's aims, threatens the security and freedoms of the Western world as well as the independence of all other nations."

The United States has taken the leadership in defending the world against this danger. But it must implement its moral principles with concrete actions —not only when aggression threatens, but in the daily give and take of world affairs. Mrs. Dean suggests some ways in which this can be done. Many of her suggestions are to the point and should be considered. Events so far have shown that she is right in her insistence that the ultimate difference between Democrats and Republicans in the conduct of foreign policy may prove to be a difference not so much of essence as of degree. She expects that Eisenhower, more effectively than if he had been a civilian, will be able to curb war-minded military officials and politicians. The new Administration can follow a policy of negotiation more easily than the Democrats because no one outside a lunatic fringe could possibly accuse it of being soft toward communism. Thus Mrs. Dean, in a book written after the new Administration came into office, looks rather

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A Diarist on Gide

RECOLLECTIONS OF ANDRE GIDE. By Roger Martin du Gard. Viking. $2.75.

Brief excerpts, admiring but candid and sometimes malicious, drawn from the journal kept for thirty-six years by a fellow-novelist of Gide's who was also a Nobel Prize winner. Few men, it would appear, knew Gide better and few admired him more, this side idolatry. But the foibles, and worse, of the great man get their full share of attention—the slovenliness of his personal habits, the extravagance of his precautions against drafts and chills, the childish egotism of his demands upon the time and attention of his friends, and above all the inclusiveness of his assumption that he need only say "I am what I am and must do what I do" to excuse anything and everything. Perhaps little that is new is added to Gide's own accounts of his proselytizing zeal for the cult of homosexuality and his brief flirtation with communism, but it is all seen from a slightly different angle. Du Gard is obviously and in his own right a diarist of a very high order.

The Past Revitalized

LIFE OF THE PAST. By George Gaylord Simpson. Yale. $4.

An introduction to the study of fossil life, the science of paleontology, which is at once readable and scientifically authoritative, making its appeal to the general reader and scientist alike, has long been overdue. In the present volume America's most distinguished paleontologist, has given us such a book. In the hands of Professor Simpson the life of the past is revitalized, and its study becomes not only exciting but an enlarging experience in the understanding of life itself and man's relationship to it.

After a brief historical account of the development of ideas in paleontology, Professor Simpson goes on to discuss the various means of preservation of animals as fossils, the geologic time scale, the economic applications of paleontological knowledge, and an absolutely fascinating chapter on fossils as living things. In the chapter on the diversity of life the principles of classification are clearly analyzed, and could be read with profit by many a professional.

After discussing the theories of evolution Professor Simpson, in his last chapter, answers some questions concerning the practical uses and theoretical consequences of the science that reveals the course of evolution, paleontology. Man, he concludes, fulfils no supernal purpose. "He is not the creature of uncontrollable and undeterminable forces, but his own master. He can and must decide and manage his own destiny."

"The Gandhi Girls"

THE WOMEN IN GANDHI'S LIFE. By Eleanor Morton. Dodd, Mead. $4.

A Gandhi biography that concentrates on the women who influenced his early life, and those who, in his later years, served as his disciples—"the Gandhi Girls," as Vincent Sheean called them. Especially interesting are the stories of his mother and her great influence in shaping his character and beliefs; of his relations with Kasturbai, his wife, often bitter and difficult in the early years of their marriage, always a mirror of his own changing ideals; of Madeleine Slade, who worshiped him as a god and served him for many years; and of Sarojini Naidu, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, and many others who worked with complete devotion to realize his dream of a free India. By studying Gandhi from this angle the author throws new and interesting light on his life and character.

British Health Service

THE NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE IN GREAT BRITAIN. By James Stirling Ross. Oxford. $7.

The National Health Service was first proposed by Winston Churchill's coalition government in 1944. No change in its major principles—universal coverage, comprehensive medical services, and support primarily from general tax revenues—was made by the Labor government, which enacted the law in 1946 and began its operation July 5, 1948. Mr. Ross gives us the best account of the origin, organization, and conduct of the service that has yet appeared. He takes us down as late as June, 1952, when some important improvements in the family physician's role were made. In his detailed account of organization and of the service in action he shows how all its features are bound up with the pre-existing system of medical care and with the traditions of local and national government.

The book is especially adapted for American readers, correcting errors of fact and perspective which have been disseminated in this country by poorly informed tourists and correspondents and by the medical spokesmen imported from Britain by the American Medical Association. Mr. Ross is frank in his own evaluations, temperate in his criticism even of the tactlessness of "Nye" Bevan, and gentle when in his Note on Opinion in America he suggests to medical and lay leaders of opinion in both nations that "if there is still a hatchet lying anywhere about, let us bury it and light our pipes."

English Drama

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH DRAMA, 1660-1900. Volume I: *RESTORATION DRAMA.* Volume II: *EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DRAMA.* Volume III: *LATE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DRAMA.* By Allardyce Nicoll. Cambridge University Press. Each Volume $7.

These are the first three of five proposed volumes, of which the two still to come will deal with the nineteenth century. Those now available represent a revision of books previously published under the same titles and constitute the most complete summary available of the drama of the period considered in the light of historical scholarship. Almost too full of names, dates, and documents for cursory reading, they are nevertheless indispensable as reference works. There are very full play lists, innumerable references to other scholarly works, and appendices documenting various disputed points in theatrical history.

Haitian Folk Religion

DIVINE HORSEMEN. The Living Gods of Haiti. By Maya Deren. Thames and Hudson. $4.75.

This study of Voudoun, the folk religion of Haiti, penetrates deeply into the psychology of primitive man and his concept of the universe. African in

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origin, with Indian and Christian modifications, Voudoun is a subtle and complex system of explaining natural phenomena and the mysteries of life and death in human and comprehensible terms. Unlike most books on the subject this is a serious attempt to understand Voudoun and to explain the origins and meanings of the elaborate rituals.

From Rodin to Roszak

SCULPTURE OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By Andrew Carnduff Ritchie. Museum of Modern Art. Distributed by Simon and Schuster. $7.50.

Written to accompany the current retrospective exhibition of sculpture, this survey of trends from Rodin to Roszak illustrates most of the pieces in the exhibition and many major works which could not be included. The 176 plates form the most useful selection of modern sculpture yet published. The text attempts something very difficult—an organic outline of the development of sculpture since 1900, preceded by some account of the work of Rodin, who precipitated either directly or by inspiring counter-development much of what has occurred in the past five decades.

The table of contents, which divides this sculpture into seven groups, seems over neat, and the illustrations do not always appear to fall within the division concerned. A careful reading of Ritchie's text will show, however, that he uses his divisions as points of reference and not as so many strait-jackets, and it will be found that the work of a single sculptor is broken up with perfect justice according to the ideas Ritchie is developing. Thus the very late work of Lachaise lies close to Brancusi's purification of the object, while the main body of his work is an extension of Maillol's classically inspired idealization. In the same way Lipchitz is shown to have developed from Cubist dissection to freely moving bronze forms which have helped to swing very recent sculpture back to the expressive values of Rodin. Among major clarifications offered by this book are the interpretation of Rodin as primarily a bronze sculptor and of Seated Youth as Lehmbruck's final and most powerful statement, and the exposition of the dominance of Brancusi, the growing influence of Gonzales, and the lonely power of Giacometti's recent work.

Films

Manny Farber

IN A seventy-minute feature called "Bright Road," M-G-M has refashioned the story of "The Quiet One," a Levitt-Loeb prize-winning documentary that dealt with the rescue of a blocked, bewildered colored boy, new methods of education, and common-sense therapy. Here, in Emmett Lavery's script, a pretty Alabama school teacher—demure, devoted, glowing with Christian endeavor—breaks through the shell of a perverse juvenile named P. T. ("It don't stand for nothing"), the shame of Vinedale school.

While the tale leans rather heavily on the idea that all becomes well when the wand of modern psychology is waved, and the view of boyhood is forcibly patterned to make this outcome possible, the movie has a surprise gift of humor and humanity. Negro actors, not unlike others, have too frequently fitted themselves into a stereotype that makes them either caricature or figures of sentimentally sterling worth. The newcomers in "Bright Road"—a dozen kids plus two adults (one of them Harry Belafonte)—cause one to be more acutely aware of the burdened propagandist portrayals of Canada Lee, the exquisite clichés of Ethel Waters, the oversensitivity of James Edwards, and the servility of Hattie McDaniels. What I'm trying to say is that this all-colored cast does not accommodate itself to an audience's ready-made ideas and so brings to the screen a fresh spontaneous life.

Some artful scenes reveal the boys' classroom behavior, a mixture of swagger and glee. A small spectacled kid stalls on the trip from blackboard to seat to run his hand across each student as though he were a slat in a picket fence. A born cynic throws tipster comments at a chum having trouble with long division. Another shrugs through a ridiculous description of his vacation experience. This is all enacted with an air of special and private knowhow about humor and an easy grace that make the teacher's correct manners and speech seem hopelessly wrong.

But for the rest, too much of the film is idealized out of reality. The teachers are up on all the latest trends in child psychology and dish it out in globs. The songs are done in the calculatedly intimate, mink-soft voices used by so many popular singers; the delicately chiseled profiles seem too universal. The only apparent sufferer is the new teacher, Dorothy Dandridge, who goes in for worried pantomime and mumbles such things as "Oh Lord, let me say the right words for once." Since Miss Dandridge offscreen is one of those quick bright songstresses who rely less on voice than on an ability to tell a story with a sensitive and emotional face, this is rather nice to watch.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

AS usual the New York City Ballet presented no new works during the first week of its present season; and watching the beautiful performances of "Four Temperaments," "Concerto Barocco," and "Symphony in C" I found myself realizing how these great Balanchine abstract ballets were like great pieces of music in the fact that they could be seen again and again and each time it was a newly revealing, exciting, and deeply satisfying experience. Also I noted a remarkable change in LeClercq's dancing: in the short interval since the winter season she had eliminated her former angularity and acquired a fluidity which filled out the time in the second movement of "Concerto Barocco" with a quietly continuous flow of beautifully contoured movement; and this quiet continuity was one manifestation of a greater technical strength that was evident in the greater security of the series of arabesques in the second movement of "Symphony in C." All this in addition to the elegance and distinction, the force of presence and projection that have always been extraordinary.

Watching "The Prodigal Son" I appreciated again Balanchine's power in dramatic ballet—the way almost nothing in this piece is presented literally, almost everything in dance metaphors that amaze one each time with their imaginative originality and force. And I also appreciated again Moncion's powers as a dramatic dancer. But the son's pulling himself up into his father's arms at the end doesn't work right; and I wish Balanchine would take time to figure out a way of achieving the effect I remember in the 1929 performances.

IN ADDITION TO the warmth and purity of thirteen-year-old Gerard Poulet's playing in Mozart's Violin Concerto K.216 (Remington) I should have mentioned the extraordinarily sentient inflection that makes this one of the most remarkable and beautiful performances on records; and the playing of the orchestra under his father's direction also is outstanding. On the other hand I am bound to mention the few slides and other such momentary excesses in the boy's playing that one can only hope will disappear rather than get worse in the years ahead.

And I would like to express more strongly my feeling about the unusual character and power of Janacek's Slavonic Mass (Urania).

The record Italian Baroque Music (RCA Victor) offers the beautiful Vivaldi Concerto in A minor, No. 8 of "L'Estro armonico"; his Sinfonia No. 2 in G, a lesser work; and two fine Concerti Grossi by Marcello and Geminiani, all excellently performed by the Società Corelli. Vivaldi's Cantata "Cessate Omai" and an excerpt from Carissimi's oratorio "Giudizio Universale," sung well by Luisa Ribacchi, I found less interesting.

A few of the pieces that Mozart wrote for "Les Petits Riens" (MGM) are engaging; the rest are uninteresting. On the same record are the charming Scarlatti pieces that Tommasini orchestrated brilliantly for "The Good-Humored Ladies." Good performances by the Covent Garden Opera Orchestra under Braithwaite.

Charming also are the early pieces that Respighi orchestrated in "The Birds" and the Suite No. 2 of Ancient Airs and Dances for the Lute (Vanguard). Excellent performances by the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Litschauer.

Chopin's beautiful Piano Concerto No. 1 gets a fine performance by Gyorgy Sandor, playing in the traditional style but with good taste, and the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy (Columbia).

The fast movements of Mendelssohn's "Scotch" Symphony are quite engaging, the finale especially so. Solti's performance with the London Symphony (London)—excellently paced, impressively controlled and poised, sensitive in inflection, coherent in shape—confirms previous impressions of him as outstanding among conductors of today. Steinberg's performance with the Pittsburgh Symphony (Capitol) is inferior in all respects and less well reproduced.

Tchaikovsky's Suite "Mozartiana" gets a heavy-handed performance by Fistoulari with the London Philharmonic, and is cut (MGM). Better played are a few excerpts from the unfamiliar opera "The Slippers" which I presume are not the music Gerald Abraham said "ranks with the best Tchaikovsky ever wrote."

In Mahler's Symphony No. 1 one hears the Mahler mind operating in its completely individual way with youthful freshness and engaging results. Borsamski's performance with the Radio Berlin Symphony is good; its sound is better on the Urania record than on the Vanguard.

One hears the same mind operating in the Symphony No. 7 (Urania), but strangely, endlessly, with results that fascinated Arnold Schönberg but don't

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interest me. Rosbaud's performance with the Radio Berlin Symphony is good.

The first two of Delius's North Country Sketches are beautifully wrought, though excessively long, evocations of autumn and winter; the last two I don't care for; and I like only a couple of lovely passages in "Eventyr" (Columbia). Beecham's performances with his Royal Philharmonic are good.

Art Notes

NATHANIEL POUSETTE-DART, a frequent exhibitor, presents a series of very small landscapes in water color. A few are abstractions; the others sketch-like fragments of outdoor scenes—beaches, farms, houses, trees, and the like.—*Passedoit to June 6.*

AMERICAN ABSTRACT ARTISTS in their seventeenth annual show present oils and sculptures by fifty American artists. Among the more familiar names are Joseph Albers, Henry Botkin, Perle Fine, A. Trumbull Mason, George L. K. Morris, and Charmion von Wiegand. —*Hacker to June 30.*

SUE FULLER, well-known printmaker, plays with colored string and space within a deep frame to create complex shapes and movements. Her colors are gay and exciting, and her new medium has definite possibilities.—*Bertha Schaefer to June 6.*

RHEA BROWN has recorded her impressions of a recent trip to the Caribbean in a number of post-impressionist oils, water colors, and drawings.—*Hugo to June 6.*

ATHENA SANTOZE HSU, distinguished Chinese woman painter and profesor of painting at Teachers' College in Formosa, has had many exhibitions in the Orient. This is the first in this country. Her style is a decorative blend of Eastern and Western techniques; her subjects are flowers, mountains, figures, and birds.—*Chapellier to June 9.*

NANCY GALANTIERE has exhibited in several group shows, principally in the West. Her imaginative paintings of horses and dragons are abstract-expressionist in style and done in sensitive and bright colors.—*Grand Central Moderns to June 13.*

Letters

Improbabilia and Politics

[*The following brief comment on one aspect of current literature was solicited for use in* The Nation's *Spring Book issue of May 8 but arrived too late. Ward Moore, author of "Greener Than You Think," has another novel, "Bring the Jubilee," scheduled to appear in the fall.*]

Dear Sirs: Either as novelist or critic I am one of the most unsatisfactory people in the business to give an appraisal of current or recent or classic improbabilia —alias science fiction or fantasy—because I am strongly opposed to the segregation of literature by caste. It seems roundabout to read novels because they deal with possibilities just as it seems over specialized to read others because they treat of Cape Cod, or adolescent frustration, or elephant shooting.

Novelists use a particular medium because it offers the best vehicle for the purpose they have in mind. This purpose may be to turn an honest buck the very hardest way, or to entertain, or to change something. Improbabilia have been used by the best of their narrators, from Plato and Sir Thomas More through Dean Swift to H. G. Wells and Ray Bradbury, as vehicle for comment on contemporary society. Moved by anger and pity, the politically dissatisfied writer often turns to improbabilia as the ideal form for displaying not only the shortcomings of the civilization in which he lives but the remedy, or the disaster if some remedy is not applied. No doubt this is why science fiction has been officially condemned in the Soviet Union.

Paradoxically, at this particular moment, when social comment is urgently called for, too little is being offered. Unquestionably this is partly due to the activities of Senators and Congressmen who equate political purity with intellectual sterility. It is partly due to a new self-consciousness, a new sense of responsibility among writers who habitually use this medium. 1953 has produced no "1984's," nor is it likely to. Though there have been some good anthologies, no novels or collections of stories of even second rank have come out. The present seems to be a moment of pause, perhaps of stocktaking.

When the medium is considered respectable again and its use does not stamp one as a writer of space opera, it is more than likely that the number of adult novels cast in this form will rise again. They will be political novels primarily perhaps, but also philosophical

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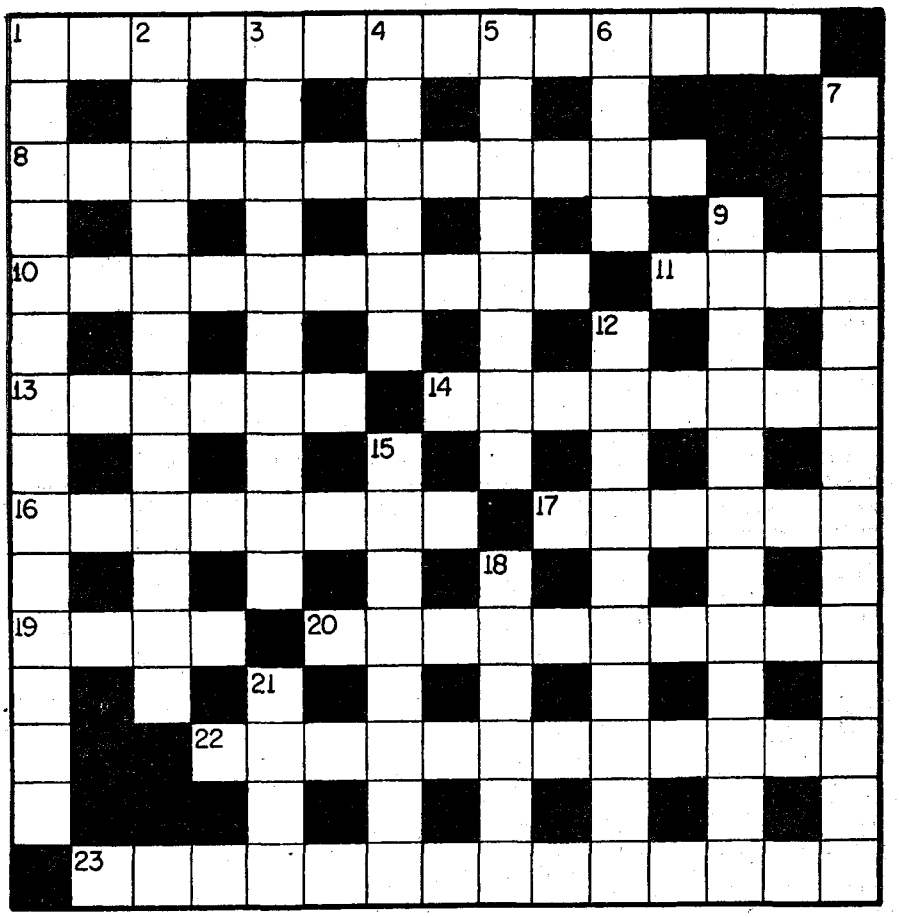
Crossword Puzzle No. 517

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 One bitter olive might be a choice offering, in case of authenticity. (7, 2, 2, 3)
8 Are city maids still to be remembered? (9, 3)
10 Thrown like the sort that suggests a strong point in English literature. (10)
11 Frightens animals. (4)
13 A boast of away 'way back? (6)
14 Concerning certain inner tubes, it's the wrong wagon to repair bodily. (8)
16 Having threefold symmetry. (8)
17 Robert, rather than Thomas. (6)
19 This is no different, when charged. (4)
20 Chief of the order hymenopter. (10)
22 Roth's, when the remainder of the bill is light. (5-7)
23 Something about two-faced people which not all of us like to see? (6, 8)

DOWN

1 Empty vehicle on the hill-top? (No damage done, despite the report.) (5, 9)
2 What Jeremiah is after is not a mental disturbance. (12)
3 A little bit of England, transplanted to the Union of South Africa? (4, 6)
4 He finished up 22 with a sort of 19. (6)
5 23 run here. (8)
6 The way to extend an opening in many papers? (4)
7 Would one imply the freedom of the corral? (5, 9)
9 He who creates my one, perhaps, doesn't necessarily leave me 22. (12)
12 Not a teller, as suggested, but in a vaguely related business. (10)
15 Fare for Noah's son on the river of song? (3, 2, 3)
18 The best known inventor of the movies? (6)
21 If this fish went by, it would be fat. (4)

~●~

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 516

ACROSS:—1 and 9 TWO-TONE SHOES; 10, 5, 20 and 29 THE WORST IS YET TO COME; 12 EASELS; 15 MATTER; 16 ETHICAL; 17 and 31 PINK LADY; 19 EYED; 21 LOW-DOWN; 23 STOP; 25 SHOWERS; 33 IN ALL; 34 ALI; 35 ALFIO; 36 SOMEDAY; 37 LEAFLET.

DOWN:—2 OBOES; 5 and 11 WHETSTONE; 6 RASCAL; 7 TROUT; 8 SPEARED; 13 STROPHE; 14 and 4 WINDOW SEATS; 15 MADWORT; 18, 27, 22 and 1 NOW I LAY ME DOWN TO SLEEP; 22 DAISIES; 24 PREVOST; 25 SMILED; 26 SONATA; 28 ALARM; 30 OFFAL; 32 and 3 BILL OF SALE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York.

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and religious, now that Anthony Boucher has marked the way so clearly—as distinguished from the theological preoccupation of C. S. Lewis.

The segregated space opera and the elementary text disguised as fiction will continue to appear in the more flaccid pulps. The tendency toward preciosity, often merely a recoil from the horrors of reality, will undoubtedly exert its pull on authors whose fantasy has been labeled "morbid" or "pessimistic." This will be of paramount interest only to those fanciers of manner rather than matter; the rest of us will want good novels, whether they are in the improbabilia form or in the realistic or romantic mood. And for many of us "good" carries the connotation of concern with the moral problems of our society, for though books may not change the times, the times produce books which characterize them. WARD MOORE

Topanga, Cal.

Misleading Title

Dear Sirs: The fact that the findings and techniques of the social sciences, clinical psychology, and even psychoanalysis may be abused in advertising is a point well made by Ralph Goodman in a recent article in *The Nation* [Freud and The Hucksters, February 14]. However, the title of the article is misleading and seems unfair to psychoanalysis and its practitioners. . . .

The reference to Freud is particularly ironical because despite the relatively greater acceptance of psychoanalysis in this country than in any other, Freud expressed his anxiety about a certain pragmatic tendency here to exploit the basic sciences. Freud feared this even in the field of medicine. His explicit wishes for analysis were to alleviate suffering and along with other disciplines to advance human culture and thus help to prevent war. One can well imagine how he would regard any anti-social exploitation of analysis.

Though a psychoanalyst, I am not protesting because the master's name may have been taken in vain but rather because as an old reader and supporter of *The Nation* and a Nation Associate I regard the title of the article as an indication, among others, of what seems to be a hostile trend toward analysis. Certainly a kind of know-nothingism or flippancy which labels psychological tests and sociological techniques as "Freud" is not in keeping with either the usual sophistication of *The Nation* or its liberal point of view. . . . I. PETER GLAUBER

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EPISCOPALIANS LEAD AMNESTY APPEAL FOR COMMUNISTS

★ Of the one hundred and sixty-one churchmen to appeal to President Truman for amnesty for the eleven Communists convicted under the Smith Act, forty-four are Episcopalians. There are seven bishops, all of them retired except Bishop Mallett of Northern Indiana and Bishop Nash of Massachusets. The others: Bishop Demby of Arkansas; Bishop McElwain of Minnesota; Bishop Mitchell of Arizona; Bishop Moulton of Utah; Bishop Parsons of California.

The WITNESS
FOR CHRIST AND HIS CHURCH
January 22, 1953

AMNESTY!

Dear NATION Reader:

Here is something you can do about McCarthyism—help win amnesty for America's political prisoners!

As long as there are political prisoners in our federal penitentiaries, there are bound to be McCarthys in the Halls of Congress.

The 14 American men and women now in prison for their "teaching and advocacy" are Communists. But democracy, not Communism, has suffered the more grievous wounds in the two years since the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Smith Act.

Thought-control legislation is the meat on which McCarthyism feeds. Amnesty for the victims of the thought-control Smith Act would go far to curb those who seek to destroy our Bill of Rights and wreck our efforts to achieve world peace.

Campaigns to win amnesty are not new in our country's history. Amnesty was won from Presidents Wilson, Harding and Coolidge after the first World War. Amnesty grants have been wrested from the fascist government of Spain, the monarchist government of Greece, the reactionary government of Turkey, the center government of Chile, the liberal government of Guatemala.

We welcome the release of William Oatis, which followed amnesty decrees in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania and the Soviet Union.

More than five hundred leaders of American public opinion have appealed to the President for amnesty for those convicted under the Smith Act. Almost every trade union—CIO, AFL and independent—is on record for repeal of the Smith Act. The United Packinghouse Workers-CIO and Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO were among the first to take the logical next step and ask amnesty for the Smith Act victims.

On June 4, 1951, Supreme Court Justices William O. Douglas and Hugo Black, in their dissenting opinions, warned that the Smith Act is inconsistent with our democratic traditions. By June, 1953, the wisdom of their stand is spelled out in the McCarthy-McCarran assault on the rights of all Americans.

Our Committee has designated June 4 to July 4 "Amnesty Month."

We urge that you speak out now for amnesty—alone or in concert with others, through a letter to President Eisenhower or through the press.

Defend *your* right to say what *you* think by defending the rights of those with whom you may disagree!

Add Your Name to Theirs

A FEW OF THE MANY WHO HAVE APPEALED FOR AMNESTY

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